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THE ITALIAN FACTOR IN THE RACE STOCK
OF ARGENTINA.

BY ROBERT F. FOERSTER.

That there is a large colony of Italians in Argentina and that it has played a striking part in the Argentine economic development are facts widely, if vaguely, understood. But that the Italian population, or let us rather say, the Italian strain, has been preponderant in some important sections of the country, and in the whole land has been second only to the Spanish—at least half as large as the Spanish—has not been appreciated. Statistical data of great interest exist to show, approximately, what the strength of the Italian factor is. Since figures equally discriminating are very rare in the records of the newer countries, it is the more worth while to study these data. It is likely, in fact, that the demographic developments which have taken place upon a large scale in Argentina have many counterparts among Italian (and other immigrant) colonies elsewhere.

Of the importance of Italian blood in the first half of the nineteenth century it is difficult to speak. There were groups of Italians in Buenos Aires, in Rosario, and about the rivers. Probably they intermarried little with the older stock, and probably they had numerous children—already designated, by the fact of their American birth, as Argentines.

Had the meager first census of 1857 specified nationalities, it would have shown an appreciable Italian element. It gave only an admittedly incomplete guess (liberal, however, as far as it went), of the population of the country; and the lacunae were filled out in 1860 by another guess, and the total proclaimed as 1,210,000.* Of these the Italians and their children were certainly not less than 1 per cent. and presumably not more than 2 per cent.†

* República Argentina, *Segundo censo*, Vol. II, p. xvi.

† In a volume dealing comprehensively with Italian emigration and its problems, shortly to be published, I have given some particulars regarding this and later periods which do not appear in the present article. On the other hand, the computation and almost the entire evidence here detailed are omitted from the book.

Very interesting is the contrast of the census figure just quoted with that for immigration between, say, 1857 and 1910. In this period, four and one-half million immigrants, in round numbers, entered the country, of whom perhaps two and one-half millions or more did not again depart from it. Between 1857 and 1869 about 150,000 immigrants came, of whom more than 100,000 were Italian. In 1869, the population (without Indians), according to what has been officially designated as the first census, was 1,737,076. Of these, 201,292, or 12.1 per cent., were foreigners, mainly Europeans, and largely Italians. But included in the Argentines were the descendants of the earlier Italians and the native children of those who had come since 1857. From many sources it is clear that the settlers had large families.

Twenty-six years elapsed before another census was taken—the latest national census. Then (1895) the population was 4,044,911, an increase of 121 per cent., or 2,307,835. More than 800,000 Italians had meanwhile arrived, the total being reduced, by death and emigration, to 492,636, in a total foreign population of 1,004,537. The “Argentine” population, however, of 2,950,384, included the living children of the Italian population of 1869 and of the immigrants arrived after that date. Did the descendants of the Italians number 350,000? If for the moment we may suppose so, then the Italian strain of 850,000 persons was about one third as large as the 2,600,000 of the older Argentine stock and the descendants of non-Italian immigrants. In 1895 non-Italian foreigners numbered 501,891, but little more than the Italians; their descendants may have been as numerous as the Italians’. Then twice 850,000 or 1,700,000 was the population of foreigners and their native children, while the older Argentine population was 350,000 less than 2,600,000 or 2,250,000. Then, of the total population, the foreign factor was 43 per cent. and the old native population 57 per cent. Between 1895 and 1910 the net immigration (excess of immigrants over emigrants) was about 1,400,000; of which the net Italian immigration was about 700,000. Between those years, the stocks of 1895, by excess of births over deaths, might have been increased 50 per cent.—the foreign to 2,550,000, the Argentine to 3,375,000.

The foreign, however, in consequence of an additional immigration of 1,400,000, would have risen further, to 3,950,000; and still further, through the excess of births over deaths of the new immigrants of these fifteen years, say to 4,200,000. Then, by 1910, there would be a population of 7,575,000 (a figure not far from the estimates of recent years), of which the old Argentine stock would be 44 per cent. and the foreign 56 per cent. And the Italians, since they were half the foreigners of 1895 and half the newer immigrants, might be 28 per cent. of the total.

These are impressive results. But can they be justified? There is a doubt concerning the amount of the native-born foreign stock of 1895, and a doubt concerning the assumption that the rates of reproduction of Argentine and immigrant factors were equal. What follows does not finally deal with these doubts, but it suggests that, at the least, if the first estimate overstates the foreign factor, the second understates it, and the net conclusion must be not far from that suggested.

In the city of Buenos Aires, in the five years 1860-1864, there were 2,092 marriages of Argentine men with Argentine women, 758 marriages of an Argentine man or woman with a European, 2,648 of European with European. In 1865-1870, six years, there were 2,946 marriages of Argentines, 1,391 of mixed stocks, 4,960 of Europeans. In the campaña of Buenos Aires there were in the eleven years 1860-1870, 12,581 inter-Argentine marriages, 3,001 mixed, and 3,023 inter-European.* Or, to combine these figures, there were in 1860-1870, in the entire city and province of Buenos Aires, 17,619 native marriages, 5,150 mixed and 10,631 European. Since mixed marriages perpetuate both strains, half may be added to the Argentine and half to the foreign. Then the Argentine marriages stand at 20,194 and the foreign at 13,206—say 60.4 per cent. and 39.5 per cent. respectively.

In this period, antedating the development of cereal production, the Italian element was more numerous than any other foreign element, and in Buenos Aires city, Italian marriages exceeded Argentine. In the other provinces the native element had still an unquestioned supremacy.†

* *Registro Estadístico de la República Argentina*, 1869-1871 (Buenos Aires, 1873), p. 292.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 294-299, 309.

Yet even then—what has often been observed among large immigrant populations—the newcomers reproduced more rapidly than the native population. In 1860–1864, 10,198 children of Argentine parents were baptized in Buenos Aires city, and 9,786 of foreign parents; in 1865–1870, 11,215 of Argentine and actually 18,399 of foreign parents. Here, indeed, was the irrupting wedge of the new people. But in no other part of the country had it yet pressed so far. Quite as noteworthy is the difference in death rates, for the foreign stock was in the healthy years of life. Among Italians in Buenos Aires city the deaths in 1865–1870 were as one to twenty of the Argentine deaths.*

The census figures of Buenos Aires city, for 1869, may seem to overstate the Argentine strength. In a population of 177,787 they show 41,957 Italians and 89,661 Argentines.† Scrutiny, however, shows that most of the Argentines were very young—the native children evidently not only of the Argentines but of the prolific foreigners (who had begun to come numerous after 1852). Of these Argentines, 35,815 were under ten years of age, 57,074 under twenty. Of the Italians only 3,012 were under ten years and 10,218 under twenty. The 31,739 Italians over twenty were nearly equal to the Argentines over twenty (32,587), and contained fewer people who had passed beyond the reproductive years.

For the period 1870–1880 our information is slight. Although immigration was much below the level it was to attain in the next decade, the foreign biological influence was considerable. In 1882, there were 10,477 births in Buenos Aires city; of 1,836 children the parents were both Argentine, and of 4,049 were Italian; in addition 803 were children of Italian men and Argentine women. In the full decade beginning 1882, births from Argentine unions numbered 22,020; those from Italian unions were three times as many, or 68,703 (annually they were 40–44 per cent. of all births in Buenos Aires), and there were also 10,647 births from unions of Italian men and Argentine women.‡ In this period the number of

* *Ibid.*, pp. 313f., 330, 334–336.

† Buenos Aires, *Censo general*, 1887, Vol. I, pp. 447f.

‡ Buenos Aires, *Anuario estadístico*, 1891, pp. 43–45.

births from Italian unions increased 136.6 per cent., from unions of Italians men and Argentine women 87 per cent., from Argentine unions 45 per cent. We must remember, of course, that a large increase of Italian parents came by immigration, but also that an important part of the Argentines of this period are the Italian-blooded descendants of the Italian population resident twenty or thirty years previously.

A reflection of the fact that the immigrants were in the reproductive years of life appears for the municipal census year of 1887, when the birth rate of the Italians in Buenos Aires was 59 per 1,000, while that of the Argentines was only 28. The high rate was due not only to the greater fecundity of the Italians but also to their high marriage rate. Throughout the period 1882-1891, the number of Italian marriages, already large, increased, till, in 1891, there were 90 per cent. more marriages of Italians than of Argentines.* In the census year 1887, there were in Buenos Aires 11 Italian marriages per 1,000 of Italian population, but less than half this rate, or 5.3 per 1,000, of Argentine population,—a population, as we have seen, in which the young children of foreigners were numerous. The census showed that not only were more Italians married, but their marriage rate—despite the preponderance of men in the immigrants—was higher. It showed that—†

Married Argentine men	were 10,223, or 36.7%	of Argentine men	over 20
“ Italian “	29,339, “ 38.7%	“ Italian “	“ “
“ Argentine women	15,897, “ 30.6%	“ Argentine women	“ 15
“ Italian “	26,161, “ 65. %	“ Italian “	“ “

In this period 1882-1891, marriages of Italian men with Italian women averaged about 31 per cent. of all marriages in Buenos Aires, and marriages of Italian men with Argentine women averaged an additional 10 per cent.‡ Many, and probably most, of these Argentine women must have been the children of Italian parents. Certainly such would tend to be sought by the newcomers. In the great majority of the marriages in Buenos Aires the husband was several years, often ten or

* *Ibid.*, pp. 61f.

† *Censo general*, 1887, Vol. II, p. 439.

‡ *Anuario estadístico*, 1891, p. 63.

twelve, older than the wife—a particularly unlikely situation where the wife was of older Spanish stock.* It is to be remembered also that young wives will have long child-bearing careers.

In 1869 foreigners were somewhat less than half the population of Buenos Aires. In 1887 they stood 112 against 100 Argentines. In the eighteen intercensal years the foreign population had grown, through immigration alone, by 160 per cent.; the Argentine—by the natural increase of the old Argentine and of the new foreign stock—128 per cent.† Only 22 per cent. of the school population (6–14 years) were of foreign birth. The Italian population was 138,166, an increase of 212 per cent. since 1869—a rate approached by no other important strain. In this period therefore the Italian contribution, by way of births, to the Argentine population must have been very heavy. In the reproductive years of life, fifteen to fifty, were 41.6 per cent. of the foreigners, a larger proportion than in 1869; and only 18.3 per cent. of the Argentines, less than in 1869. These conditions may be made clearer in a series of tables.

A‡

(Percentages refer to the whole population, except men under 20 and women under 15.)

15.1%	were single	Argentines
24.3%	" "	foreigners
11.4%	" married	Argentines
41.3%	" "	foreigners
3.0%	" widowed	Argentines
4.7%	" "	foreigners

B§

43.0%	of the Argentine men	over 20	were married	(in 1869, 49.4%)
36.3%	" " " women	" 15	" "	(" " 32.4%)
but 52.6%	" " foreign men	" 20	" "	(" " 46.8%)
and 66.6%	" " " women	" 15	" "	(" " 60.7%)

Mainly, however, the significance of these conditions is to be sought in statistics of births (legitimate):

* *Censo general*, 1887, Vol. II, p. 420; cf. p. 444. In 1882–1887, of 6,376 men marrying at 25–30 years, 2,553 married women of 15–20 years, 2,699 women of 20–25 years.

† *Ibid.*, p. 7.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

C*

Father Argentine, mother Argentine	1,926 (in 1869, 1,663)
" " " foreign	322 (" " 173)
" foreign, " Argentine	1,932 (" " 1,443)
but " " " foreign	9,761 (" " 3,645)†

D†

Father Argentine, mother Argentine	1,909
" " " foreign	318
" Italian " Italian	7,026
" " " Argentine	1,011
" Spanish " Spanish	1,080
" " " Argentine	412

The total births, except illegitimate (1,974) and of colored parents (171) were 13,965. Note how rarely, judging by births, the Argentine man marries a foreign woman, and how frequent is the contrary case.

Of the births of 1887, 47.1 per cent. were from Italian mothers, and 24.9 per cent. Argentine. Children who were not more than the eighth birth in a family, had in 3,710 cases Argentine mothers, but in 7,112 cases Italian mothers—nearly 90 per cent. more.‡ These Argentine mothers had already borne 11,404 children but the Italian mothers had borne 23,330—nearly 108 per cent. more. Many of the Italian mothers were recent immigrants and young women, with child-bearing careers largely ahead. The greater fecundity of the foreign stock is still further shown in figures compiled for the six years 1882–1887. For each ten marriages of Argentines there had been, by the census year 1887, 32 children; for each ten foreign, 51 children.§ Still more detailed figures show that the Italians more often have children than do Argentines and have more children.**

To give an indication of the strength of the various important nationalities in the population of Buenos Aires in 1887, I have indicated below the number of existing marriages of each sort and their issue. In reading the table it must be remembered that Argentine families, as a class, have been longest in existence.††

* *Ibid.*, p. 411.

† *Ibid.*, p. 410.

‡ Compiled on basis of figures in *ibid.*, pp. 412ff.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 427.

** *Ibid.*, pp. 428f.

†† *Ibid.*, pp. 439f; I have calculated the figures of the last column.

Number of Marriages	Husband	Wife	Children per 100 Marriages	Total Number of Children
8,875	Argentine	Argentine	234	20,767
374	"	Italian	161	602
3,179	Italian	Argentine	228	7,248
25,006	"	Italian	228	57,013
331	"	Spanish	200	662
1,602	Spanish	Argentine	233	3,732
4,364	"	Spanish	208	9,077
2,970	French	French	177	5,256

In the same year, 1887, the provincial census of Santa Fé was taken. Its statistics are much less detailed than those we have been considering. Of married Argentines 14,717 were found, and an almost equal number, 14,736 of married foreigners, mainly Italians. The average number of children had been 4.9 for the Argentine families and 4.6 for the foreign.* Presumably, in this country of early marriages, the Argentines included no inconsiderable number of the children of Italians. For there were actually more foreigners (3,879) who had been married more than twenty years than Argentines (3,690), and they had been the parents of many children: the Argentines of 27,032, the foreigners of 26,269.† Of the older Italians many had been married in Italy. In this province of Santa Fé, the second in population in Argentina, the Italian factor had great strength.

The year 1895 brought the second national census. In the twenty-six years since the previous census, the native population had not quite doubled, while the foreign had quintupled and come to be one third the size of the Argentine. Italians, who meantime had been three fifths of all immigrants—many being seasonal—were 49 per cent. of the foreign population. After them came the Spanish (19.8 per cent.) and the French (9.4 per cent.).‡ How largely the Argentine population represented recent births, and therefore largely births from foreign unions is manifest in the age statistics. If Argentines under twenty years of age (1,770,831) are deducted from the total number of Argentines (2,950,384), only 1,179,553 are left who were born before 1875. Those born before 1865 were

* Santa Fé, *Primer censo*, Vol. I, p. xevii.

† *Ibid.*, p. xcvi.

‡ República Argentina, *Segundo censo*, Vol. II, p. xlv.

only 710,900. Exactly one half the population of the country were under twenty years of age. Among the Argentines, 61.3 per cent. of the males, 58.7 per cent. of the females were under twenty years; among the foreigners only 17.8 per cent. and 25.7 per cent., respectively. Of the foreigners, 796,979 had been born before 1875; 569,639 before 1865.* These figures suggest that many of the Argentines were the children of foreign parents.

More definitely is the increasing importance of the foreign element demonstrated in the census statistics concerning the marital status of persons who had reached their fifteenth year. For comparison I give also the figures for 1869.†

	1869.			1895.		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
Argentine:						
Single.....	557	525	540	583	508	545
Married.....	386	349	366	325	351	339
Widowed.....	57	126	94	39	104	73
No data.....				53	37	43
	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
Foreign:						
Single.....	576	294	500	442	204	358
Married.....	381	591	438	494	677	559
Widowed.....	43	115	62	42	104	64
No data.....				22	15	19
	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000

It is difficult to explain these striking differences between the native and foreign elements only by supposing that the single men, of whom there are 141 more in 1,000 Argentines than in 1,000 foreign, marry later in life than formerly. (So far as the Argentines marry later than the foreigners, their generation is longer and their contribution to the race, in any given period of time, less.) The change since a quarter century earlier has been mainly among the foreigners: more of them, women as well as men, are married. Among women the absolute figures are truly striking.

Of 315,350 adult foreign women, 213,695, or 68% are married
 " 818,080 " Argentine " 287,516, " 35% " "

*Compiled from *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. xcix.

†*Ibid.*, p. cviii.

Since, furthermore, 46,926 married Argentine women have foreign husbands, only 240,590 are married to natives. And of these a large part undoubtedly are the children of immigrants, rather than of the anterior population.

An explanation of the declining importance of the old stock made by the director of the census is *à propos*. The foreigners, he declares, are more industrious and thrifty than the natives, and so more quickly and more surely reach a stage where they can afford to marry. While the Argentine woman is usually only a consumer, the foreign wife nearly always aids her husband in production. The foreigner relies upon this economic aid. The native does not expect it, therefore avoids marriage, and—*razon poderosa*—finds its substitute in the less expensive luxury of illicit relations.*

The figures of 1895, showing the child-bearing part of the foreign-born population to be not greatly less than that of the native-born, concern the whole country. Yet the figures for Buenos Aires, as utilized in the year-book of that city, have additional interest.† There, of the Argentine women who had reached their fifteenth year, 25,792, or 37.7 per cent., were married; of the foreign women, 75,859, or 69.5 per cent. A later age at marriage, in the case of the Argentine stock, will diminish but by no means undo the difference. In each 1,000 Argentine women, single or widowed, aged 15 to 50, 51.2 married during the year; in 1,000 Spanish, of the like class, 106.4; in 1,000 Italian, 134.8. And again, for 1,000 married Argentine women of these ages, the year's births were 92; for 1,000 Spanish, 155; for 1,000 Italian, 194. Señ. Martinez, describing the "social capillarity" of the Argentine population, parodies Malthus: desires grow in geometrical progression, but the possibilities of satisfying them only in arithmetical progression.

Since 1895 a decline has taken place in the relative strength of the Italian-born factor in Buenos Aires. Marriages to which both parties were Argentine were, in the early 1880's, about 20 per cent. of all. After lapsing to 13 per cent. in 1890, they rose again, by 1900, to 21 or 22 per cent.,—a com-

**Ibid.*, p. cxiii.

† Buenos Aires, *Annuaire Statistique*, 1895, pp. li-lix.

mon proportion since. Italian marriages, from having been upwards of 30 per cent. in the early 1880's, declined to 27 per cent. in 1897 and to 17 or 18 per cent. in 1907 and 1908. Spanish marriages rose from 6 per cent. in 1882 to 10 per cent. in 1889, then to 12 per cent. in 1899 and 20 per cent. in 1908. Thus Spanish marriages were one half the Italian marriages of 1899 and actually surpassed their declining share in 1908. It must, however, be added that while the unions of Spanish men and Argentine women have fluctuated little about 4.5 per cent. since 1882, Italian marriages with Argentine women have of late years been nearer 11 than 9 per cent. These figures seem to indicate that immigrant intermarriage with old Argentine stock is, and probably has been rare. Since Spaniards speak the same language as the old Argentines, their intermarriages would naturally be at a greater rate than those of Italians and Argentines. The conclusion seems appropriate that in Italo-Argentine marriages the bride is the native daughter of an Italian.* If the conclusion be accepted, then the Italian marriages of 1908 did still exceed the Spanish.

That the Argentines have come to be largely the descendants of immigrant stock of the last few decades is a thesis further to be strengthened in the statistics offered by the Buenos Aires municipal census of 1904. It appears that this great city has only recently begun to rely for its increase of population on births. Before the great immigrations, in 1869, natives of the capital were 44.4 per cent. of the population. In 1887, they were only 17.3 per cent.; in 1895, 26.6 per cent.; in 1904, 33.7 per cent. Indeed, the prodigious nine-years growth from 663,854 to 950,891 inhabitants was mainly from births; the population from this source increased 64 per cent. while that that had come from abroad increased only 24 per cent. In the total population of Buenos Aires, natives, born in whatever part of Argentina, now numbered 55 per cent., Spaniards 11, and Italians 24.†

An examination of the age statistics of this census should set beyond a doubt the correctness of the view that the

*In 1908 two thirds as many Italians married Argentines as married Italian women. All the figures in this paragraph are based on the year-books issued since 1895.

†Buenos Aires, *Recensement général*, 1904, pp. lxiif, 23-25.

Argentines derive mainly from the immigrants who came since 1860 and who chiefly were Italians. Of the 534,041 persons composing the Argentine group, 364,964, or 69.5 per cent., had not yet reached the age of twenty—*i. e.*, had been born since 1884. In addition, 98,602 had been born between 1869 and 1884.* So 463,566, or actually 88.6 per cent. of all the Argentines, had been born since 1869. Had the native population censused in 1869—78,976 born in the capital, 6,653 in the provinces (surely even in these figures were some children of foreigners)—doubled by natural increase each twenty-five years, it could have accounted for only 256,887, or 49 per cent. of the Argentine population of 1904. But an old population in a city almost never doubles in twenty-five years; on the other hand, there had also been provincial immigrants.

Consider the age statistics further, however. Foreigners under twenty, who therefore had contributed few children to the Argentine population were only 62,008, or 14.4 per cent. of the foreign population. Above this age the foreigners, with their high marriage rates and birth rates, must have contributed many children. Foreigners aged 20–49 numbered 283,455, or more than twice as many as the natives of the same years (140,081); these groups were still reproductive. Of persons older than 50 years—born before 1854—there were 17,370 Argentines and 77,047 foreigners. For the significance of these figures it must be recalled that very few immigrants arrive after the expiration of the reproductive term, and most arrive before that term is even half past.†

Not only has the older Argentine stock in Buenos Aires been submerged by the immigrant stock, but in the latter the Italians have easily led. There were in 1904 only 28,664 Italians under 20, but there were 152,073 Italians aged 20–49, or actually 12,000 more than Argentines of these ages; and there were 47,158 over 49 years, or about 30,000 more than Argentines of this group. The recent increase of Spanish immigrants is yet far from equalizing the two populations in Buenos Aires: in 1904 they were only half as numerous as the Italians in both the age groups 0–19 and 40–49, and above 49

* Age groups 20–24, 25–29, and one half—a conservative portion—of 30–39.

† The percentages of this and the preceding paragraph were calculated on the basis of figures given in *ibid.*, pp. 30–34.

they were less than one third as numerous. Of married persons with spouses living there were 139,835 Italians, 75,577 Argentines and 52,701 Spanish.*

In a city where more than four persons in five (81.7 per cent.) aged 50 years or over are of foreign birth, it is not likely that less than four in five persons under 20 years (85.4 per cent.) though described as native are of other than immigrant origin. From the census figures it can, in fact, easily be calculated that the Italian mothers had borne somewhat more than 258,679 children, Spanish mothers more than 82,325 and Argentine mothers 145,361. One more detail is worth adding: among all women married as long as 20-25 years, four fifths had married before the age of 25, and of these one half before 20.†

The main contributions of the municipal census of 1909 may be set forth more briefly. The leading groups were 670,513 Argentines, 277,041 Italians, 174,291 Spanish. Of the Argentines, men and women, half were in the reproductive years 15-50; of the Italians three quarters. Italians aged 40-70 numbered 172,182, Argentines only 133,644—once more an indication of early heavy Italian contributions to the race stock.‡

Of striking value is a table dealing with fecundity. There were more Argentine married women who had had no child or only one child than there were Italian. But more Italian women than Argentine had been mothers of two children and of *each number* of children through "sixteen or more." The 51,984 Argentine mothers (neglecting 3,202 whose number of children was not determined) had given birth to 203,738 children, while the Italian mothers (neglecting 4,768 whose number of children was not determined) had borne 338,555 children.§

What of the rest of Argentina? Buenos Aires city, though embracing a fifth of the population of the republic, cannot claim to be typical. Yet the other populous regions are the cereal regions, where, after all, the Italians have chiefly gone.

* *Ibid.*, pp. 35-39, 64.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 90-101.

‡ Buenos Aires, *General census*, 1909, Vol. I, pp. 37-40. I have calculated the figures.

§ Calculated on basis of figures in *ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 111, 112. I have had to neglect the indefinite "more" children beyond 16 births.

Of Buenos Aires province we can only say that the Italians are numerous. Of Santa Fé, the second province in population, we have spoken. There are many indications that the Italians are numerous in the interior cities. Rosario grew even faster, before 1895 at least, than Buenos Aires. In the rural sections the Italians were often the largest group. At the beginning of the present century, in the Córdoba colonies, Italian fathers of families were three quarters of all.* In the rural sections, where every arm contributes to the family income, we may be sure that immigrants have been prolific. Indeed, whenever in the Italian consular reports, there is reference to size of families, it is invariably to say that they are large—characteristically, that while one child is being born, another is marrying.

Especial interest attaches to the census taken in 1909 by Mendoza, because the circumstances in this province differ broadly from those of either Buenos Aires city or the cereal provinces. There are small towns, and vineyards, and wine-making establishments. The Italians are one eleventh of the population. But their tendency to have large families has here, as elsewhere, asserted itself. Of the 3,426 Italian wives, 658 had been married for 25–50 years. Of these more than two fifths (284) had borne not less than nine children each, and had borne an average of about twelve children. The 284 mothers had had some 3,300 children.†

In view finally of the early coming of the Italians, of their continued coming, and of their rates of reproduction, I believe the figure of 28 per cent., tentatively reached above, for the proportion which they and their children make of the total population of Argentina, to be conservative. Even without including their children's children, it should be raised, and when these are included will surely reach nearer to one third than to one fourth of the population. The rough guess hazarded by Bryce‡ certainly does not seriously overstate the truth: "The Argentine of the future will probably be one third Italian in blood."

* M. E. Rfo and L. Achával, *Geografía de la provincia de Córdoba* (Buenos Aires, 1904), Vol. II, p. 179.

† Mendoza, *Censo general*, 1909, p. 55. I have calculated the number of children, which remains indefinite because 35 mothers had 16 "or more" children.

‡ *South America—Observations and Impressions* (New York, 1912), p. 438.